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THE AMERICAN TEMPER

A Radio Discussion by

- RICHARD FINNEGAN
- MAX LERNER
- LOUIS WIRTH

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ROUND TABLE

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NOTE

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THE AMERICAN TEMPER

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST*

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* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago, over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, March 29, 1942, at 1:30 P.M., Central War Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script, although participants meet in advance, prepare a topical outline, and exchange data and views. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of eithe the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

THE AMERICAN TEMPER

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The months which have passed since Pearl Harbor have left their mark not only upon American business, the American worker, and the American housewife, but American attitudes toward the world and war have changed. There was a time when Americans were accused of complacency. "This will be easy," they said. Today there is a seriousness about the war that verges upon frustration. "What can I do?" people ask, and add, "Tell me how to do my part!"

What are the divisions of American opinion today? What bottlenecks must be ironed out before all the people are in the war together? What is required of leadership, of the administration, of every man?

To answer these and other important questions about present-day America, the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE *invited three expert observers to its microphone to discuss: "The American Temper."*

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MR. WIRTH: This is not going to be another ROUND TABLE on morale.[1]

MR. FINNEGAN: I'm certainly glad to hear that, Wirth.

MR. LERNER: What the American people think about the war is important, but I agree that the word "morale" has been overused.

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[1] *See: Hadley Cantril, Frederick L. Schuman, and Louis Wirth, "Morale: Ours and Theirs." A University of Chicago* ROUND TABLE *transcript, No. 199, January 4, 1942.*

MR. WIRTH: Despite the fact that there has been a tremendous voluntary enlistment of people in the armed forces and civilian defense organizations, and despite the buying of bonds and war savings stamps, I still believe that America is only partially mobilized.

MR. FINNEGAN: That probably comes from the fact that a great many people think that we *will* the end, which is complete victory, but that we haven't yet had the daring to provide the methods or means to that end.

MR. LERNER: We'd better watch out lest we imply that the American people are complacent. I'm a little tired of hearing about "American complacency." The thing that I find in this country is not that but the tragic and terrible sense of being unused that so many people have.

MR. WIRTH: A number of people I know feel that we are fiddling while Rome burns.

MR. LERNER: Yes, and I would say that the trouble with America today is not the fiddling of the American people. The trouble with America today is not the American people at all but rather their lack of organization. And that's partly the government's fault; partly the fault of business and labor; partly the fault of some people in defense.

MR. FINNEGAN: The Gallup poll shows that the people are 61 per cent for the registration and government control of all civilian and war efforts.[2]

MR. LERNER: I'm somewhat skeptical of polls of this sort. I

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[2] *On March 11, 1942, the American Institute of Public Opinion announced that in the final national poll on total mobilization 61 per cent had said "Yes" to the question, "After finding out what each person can do, should the government have the power to tell each citizen what to do as his part in the war effort and require him or her to do it?"*

think they're accurate enough, but I think also that many people who will vote in that way may not, themselves, recognize the implications of just what all-out war effort means.

MR. WIRTH: America is still a sleeping giant.

MR. LERNER: I like that way of putting it. I also say that America is a Gulliver. You remember Gulliver, who found himself asleep in the land of the Lilliputians. And he woke up and he tried to stretch himself, and he found that he was tied down by these petty Lilliputian thongs. That's America, but Gulliver is beginning to wake up.

MR. FINNEGAN: You don't think we're all tied down?

MR. LERNER: I think many of us are tied down by our habits, by our group interests; yes, I think *most* of us are.

MR. WIRTH: Let's examine these morale bottlenecks that are tying America down.

MR. LERNER: We still have the isolationist mentality that so many had before Pearl Harbor. I've heard people say that our cities are going to be bombed, that our factories and our children are going to be bombed, and they say, "Why not keep our boys here; keep our planes here; keep our ships here?" I think that's tragic.

MR. WIRTH: Well, the war is still far away, and we're still on the defensive; and nobody gets very enthusiastic as long as we are marking time.

MR. FINNEGAN: Then we have this "business-as-usual" attitude. There are a lot of our boys out in Australia, in Africa, and in the camps. They are not having business as usual. The business now for them is victory as soon as possible.

MR. LERNER: I think that we've had a very interesting illustra-

tion recently of the business-as-usual attitude that Finnegan mentions: the revelations of Standard Oil of New Jersey's cartel agreements with German firms by which our whole synthetic rubber production has been delayed.[3]

MR. WIRTH: There is also a feeling that we merely have to wait until we have a decent bombing or until we have another Pearl Harbor before we wake up.

MR. LERNER: I haven't much patience with that attitude.

MR. WIRTH: Neither have I, but the fact is, it exists.

MR. LERNER: Yes, it exists, but how many shocks do the American people need? Do we have to wait until the Japanese have landed on the sands of California and until the Germans have landed in New York? Do we have to wait until we've seen the whites of their eyes before we organize?

MR. WIRTH: Is there still a defeatist group in America?

MR. FINNEGAN: I think there are a few, but I think their number has been overemphasized.

MR. LERNER: You'll agree, won't you, that, although they are

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[3] *On March 26, 1942, Senator Harry S. Truman, chairman of a special Senate committee investigating the war-production program, made public evidence received by his committee regarding an international cartel (monopoly) agreement between Standard Oil and the I. G. Farbenindustrie, German chemical and dye trust. The evidence revealed that, although the German government refused to permit disclosure of the German synthetic rubber process to the United States, Standard Oil turned over to the Germans a synthetic rubber process of its own development, while witholding it from American rubber companies and the United States Navy.*

few in number, they are extremely vocal, and many of them happen to occupy strategic positions in the newspaper industries?[4]

MR. FINNEGAN: And because they are vocal I believe they've probably fooled some of you boys in the universities. I don't think the average man on the street is fooled by them.

MR. LERNER: I don't think that the university professor is superior to the average man on the street; but I'm afraid that the average man on the street *has* been partly fooled by them.

MR. WIRTH: Finnegan thinks that we're a little more naïve just because we are professors.

MR. LERNER: I wouldn't answer for the profession of professors as a whole. I have seen many naïve ones. But it's very difficult to be able to stand up against the poisons of the defeatist groups.

And I may say that we're just at the beginning of what they can do to us! Let's wait and see what happens when the casualty lists begin coming in. If we're going to wait before organizing until those casualty lists come in, I think we'll find that many of the

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[4] *On March 11, 1942, the "Christian Science Monitor" published a report by Roscoe Drummond, their Washington staff correspondent, which said: "The United States is the only belligerent in World War II wittingly harboring an active, aggressive 'fifth column' movement.*

"It is run by pro-Fascist Americans openly doing the work of the Axis within the Nation.

"It is defeatist. It accepts the loss of the war. Its whole program of domestic Fascism is premised upon the loss of the war.

"It is acting to undermine the morale of the American people and thwart the war effort.

"The 'Christian Science Monitor' can state authoritatively that there are 95 pro-Nazi, pro-Japanese subversive publications being published in the United States today with a total circulation of several millions."

weaknesses and divisions of opinion among the American people will be intensified.

MR. FINNEGAN: I don't think we're going to wait until the casualty lists come in. I think that the contacts that all the families of all the boys in the camps are having with the real business of war at the front has wakened people more than most of us realize.

MR. WIRTH: People want to know what the important divisions in the American people *are*, and I want to put on the record first the division of the people into two groups, pro- and anti-labor.

MR. FINNEGAN: I think that division has been overemphasized. I think that at this time, now that strikes and double time on Sunday are out, that the attitude of Murray of the C.I.O., Green of the A.F. of L., Don Nelson, Knudsen, Witherow, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, and Roosevelt, all are showing a unity on that point that is exactly what the country wants.[5]

MR. LERNER: That's healthy and encouraging. Nevertheless, we must also recognize, on the other side, that local chambers of commerce have stirred up this anti-labor drive; that many newspapers, throughout the country, have stirred it up. Only 6 per cent, for example, objected to the anti-labor drive.

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[5] *On March 26, 1942, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor and President Philip Murray of the Congress of Industrial Organizations appeared before the House Naval Affairs Committee and said that the passage of the bill sponsored by Representative Howard W. Smith (Dem., Va.) would not increase needed war production. The Smith bill would suspend the forty-hour week and all other laws limiting working hours and fixing pay for overtime; abolish the closed shop for the duration of the war; and limit profits on war contracts to 6 per cent. Green and Murray declared that the passage of the Smith bill would bring about such resentment and confusion that it would hamper the war effort.*

MR. WIRTH: And isn't it a fact that labor has so far, outside of the people in the armed forces, made the most significant sacrifices? They have voluntarily given up the right to strike.

MR. LERNER: There is one other fact that is worth putting on the record (and I think we should look at this in a wholly factual and calm way). What are the actual facts as regards the question of how long labor is working? The impression has been spread that labor wants to work only forty hours a week. I quote from the Wage and Hour Division of the United States Department of Labor: "In the crucial defense industries, what is the average worker working today? In machine tools, almost 54 hours; in firearms, 52½ hours; in aircraft, 46.2 hours; in shipbuilding, 46 hours; in aluminum, 45.7 hours." That is the number of hours that the average worker works in these industries, not the number of hours the factory works.

MR. WIRTH: In other words, we don't just stop at forty hours and shut the factory.

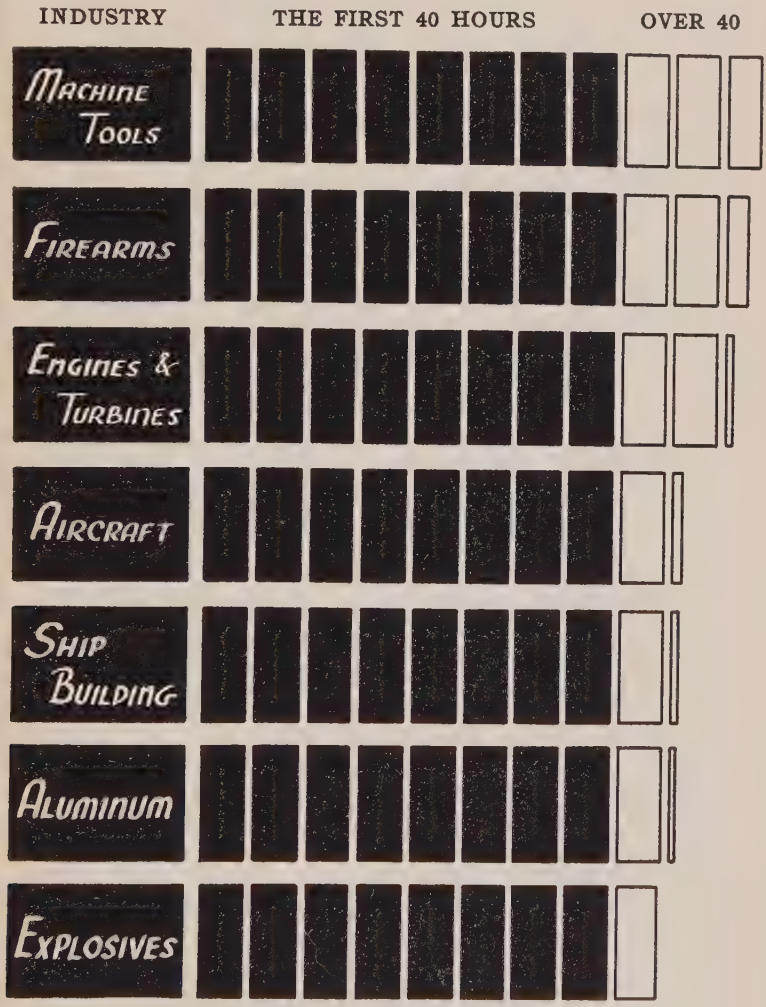
MR. LERNER: I think there are many people today who are trying to use the war situation to push labor around—to take away from it all its hard-earned gains and decencies.

MR. FINNEGAN: You know the fact is, gentlemen, that the present labor policy agrees largely with the policy that the government laid down in the last war in what we called "General Order No. 13."

MR. WIRTH: You being a man of long memory, I think we ought to let you quote that.

MR. FINNEGAN: Well, I'd like to quote just a few words from it. Here's what the government said: "Industrial history proves that reasonable hours, fair working conditions, and a proper wage scale are essential to high production, and we approved an eight-hour day not only to help labor but also to help management."

WEEKLY AVERAGE OF HOURS WORKED IN MAJOR WAR INDUSTRIES



EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 5 HOURS

MR. LERNER: You mention the experience of the last war. Take the experience of the present war. Contrast, for example, the way in which England is handling its labor problem and the way in which many of your groups want to handle it. England has not carried on the kind of anti-labor drive that we have.

MR. FINNEGAN: You're talking about many of our groups. The fact is that the government itself, in a policy set in the White House, is doing just as much here as they have done in England.

MR. WIRTH: But more than that; in England some of the labor leaders have actually come into the government; and in this country we have only just begun to realize that there is leadership and administrative ability among labor that should have a place in government.

MR. LERNER: All honor to Mr. Roosevelt, and all honor to Mr. Nelson and the army people who have testified against this labor hysteria. Nevertheless, I think it is necessary to realize that that does not yet extend to the rest of the people who are forming opinion in the United States. England has shown us the way in which to get the greatest degree of cooperation out of labor.

MR. WIRTH: Let us get on. What are the groups in the United States that are lining up in different ways with reference to the war effort?

MR. FINNEGAN: I think a lot of people believe we have a pro-Axis group here, for instance.

MR. LERNER: Don't you think that is so?

MR. FINNEGAN: I think it's small and very vocal.

MR. LERNER: I think it's small and vocal. I would say it is the group with the Nazi mentality.

MR. WIRTH: There are a number of papers openly or surreptitiously pro-Nazi or at least anti-American.

MR. LERNER: I think we ought to face the question of what to do with them. I would say we have to use our full government power toward them and sit on them when necessary.

MR. WIRTH: And next to this openly pro-Axis group, we have a second group—a group I would describe as having a merely conditional will to victory.

MR. LERNER: Call them "conditional Americans."

MR. WIRTH: They want to win the war provided Russia loses.

MR. FINNEGAN: Or England loses.

MR. WIRTH: Yes, or provided labor loses.

MR. LERNER: Or, provided Roosevelt loses.

MR. FINNEGAN: Or that industry loses.

MR. WIRTH: And, finally, I think there is a third group that I think is in the majority. They want to win the war unconditionally, with whatever it takes to do so.

MR. FINNEGAN: And I think they are the 61 per cent who voted in the Gallup poll.

MR. LERNER: I would say more than 61 per cent feel that way.

MR. FINNEGAN: That's true. I imagine the ROUND TABLE, and certainly every newspaper editor, gets letters saying, "Why doesn't somebody have the courage to advocate universal conscription?"

MR. WIRTH: Exactly. And they say, "Why doesn't everybody accept $21 a month, as our soldiers in the Army do?"

MR. LERNER: I think that would make some sense if we really

carried it out logically. I am afraid that quite a few people who talk about the soldiers getting only $21 a month wouldn't want to face a logical carrying-out of that for the rest of the country; for example, having the whole of our industrial structure run by the government, having everybody employed by the government, and being paid $21 a month. Are we willing to face that?

MR. FINNEGAN: Do you know that there is nothing new in that? We talk about that as though it would be a great experiment. Well, our "back-to-normalcy" President Harding said, when he was inaugurated, that he envisioned the ideal republic as one where every man and woman is called under the flag for assignment to duty for whatever service, military or civic, the individual is best fitted; where we can call to universal service every plant, every agency, every facility of the country, to win the war.

MR. WIRTH: And here we are in a war and we're certainly far from that. I think we ought to ask: "Why are we so far away from that?"

MR. FINNEGAN: I think Don Nelson gave us a tip on that in one of his recent talks. He said he wanted labor and he wanted management to bend every effort; and, if they didn't bend every effort, then, he said, the wrath of the community would be upon them. But he was afraid to go any further because he was afraid of following the totalitarian pattern.

MR. WIRTH: Don't you think, as I do, that people still think in terms of the old incentives? We're used to an economy where everything is purchasable at a price.

MR. LERNER: Yes. And every time anyone suggests something involving the use of governmental power, involving rigorous organization, the cry is raised, "That's Nazi."

MR. WIRTH: Exactly!

MR. LERNER: I think we can be tough without being Nazi. Everything depends on how you use these instruments, and we can use them in a democratic fashion. I don't think that we ought to define democracy in such a way that by definition it's too weak to survive. It must be defined in such a way that it's strong enough to survive.

MR. WIRTH: We are about to register all the manpower and womanpower in the United States. And if we're going to do that, then the question arises: What are we going to do with them?

MR. LERNER: I think one danger is that we may go too far and try to convert this country into an armed camp. I have great admiration, let us say, for the way in which General MacArthur has thus far run his share of the war.

MR. WIRTH: Yes, but you wouldn't run your classroom the way MacArthur runs his army . . . .

MR. LERNER: Exactly.

MR. WIRTH: And neither would Finnegan run his newspaper that way.

MR. LERNER: That's right!

MR. FINNEGAN: And apparently Don Nelson doesn't think Sears, Roebuck ought to be run that way.

MR. LERNER: You can't run industry the way you run an army; you can't run labor the way you run an army, but you can use army methods to remove obstacles whenever they crop up, to break the bottlenecks.

MR. FINNEGAN: Aren't agriculture, labor, and industry up against what we may call a military necessity now?

MR. WIRTH: Yes, but in order to solve that problem of military necessity, it doesn't do just to practice random intervention. What we've got to develop is a strategy of selective intervention.

MR. FINNEGAN: What do you mean by "random intervention"?

MR. LERNER: May I suggest that what we must do is set up a framework of government power and government control, and, wherever obstacles emerge, we've got to break them down by government power. But, for the rest of our system, we must let the major forces of American life work these problems out, as they have been doing, and that means fundamental decency of man to man; that means respect for alien groups; that means respect for minority groups; that means respect for the dignity of the ordinary person, whether he be a worker or not.

MR. WIRTH: But, on the other hand, it also means equal opportunity to participate; and it means equal willingness and necessity of sacrifice.

MR. FINNEGAN: Isn't that what Don Nelson has in mind when he talks about his fear of adopting totalitarian methods?

MR. LERNER: I think that's what he has in mind. I don't quarrel at all with Mr. Nelson's statements. If I have any quarrel, it's with the question of whether he's going to be tough enough and use enough power to carry these things out.

MR. WIRTH: Let me see if I can summarize what we've said so far. I think we're agreed that we are far from using the total potential war effort of the United States.

MR. FINNEGAN: I think so.

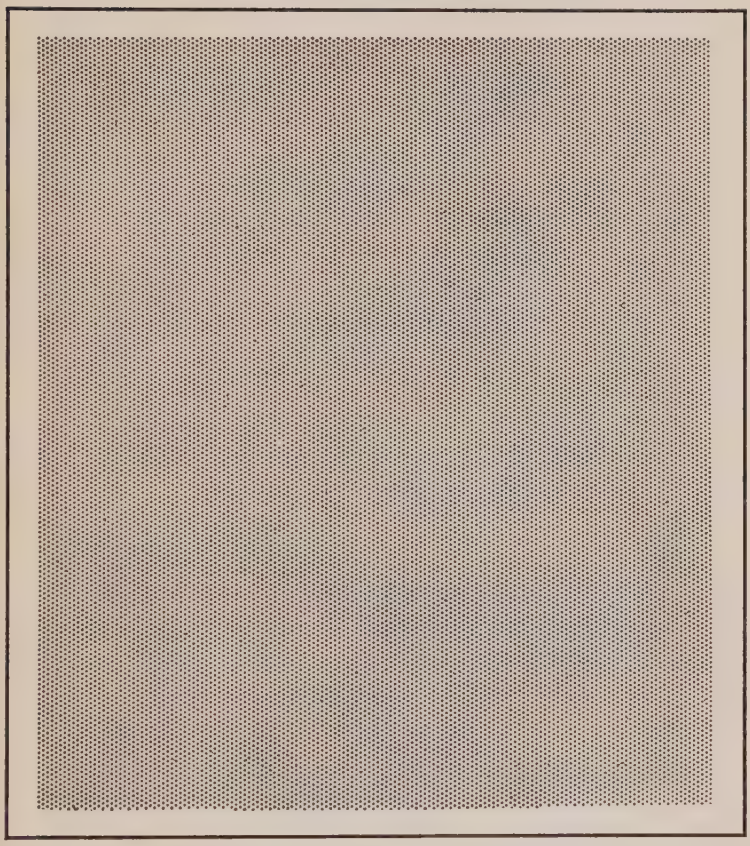
MR. WIRTH: Second, we have pointed out what some of the important bottlenecks to the full use of our resources are. Now we come to the third question of how to improve the American temper, how to get as near as possible to total mobilization.

MR. LERNER: I'd like to start with the government. I think there's been too much timidity on the part of the people in Washing-

TIME LOST IN STRIKES*

FOR EVERY HOUR LOST

THIS MANY HOURS WERE WORKED:



** In January, 1942, time lost in strikes amounted to four-thousandths of 1 per cent of the time worked.*

ton about whether the American people will stand for this or will stand for that. They are fearful and timorous.

MR. FINNEGAN: I think the American people will stand for anything as long as they feel that there is an equality of application. If there's an equalization of responsibility and duty, they'll stand for it.

MR. LERNER: They want to feel that somebody else isn't being treated better than they are.

MR. WIRTH: What the American people now demand is a greater manifestation of leadership.

MR. LERNER: That's right. And by "leadership" we don't mean people who follow their followers but people who lead their followers.

MR. WIRTH: Nor do we mean people who go around with a club, knocking people on the head.

MR. FINNEGAN: Well, what do you mean by leadership? Leadership in the government entirely?

MR. LERNER: Leadership both on the part of the government leaders and on the part of those who are today organizing our production. Today Washington has become the center of that, and I still say that Washington is too timid in the use of its power. In fact, I am in favor of annexing Washington to the United States once more.

MR. WIRTH: I think that's a point. And the question one always hears in Washington from government officials is: "How will the American people take it?"

MR. FINNEGAN: I think the American people will take anything if they are convinced that each one of them is sharing equally whatever methods are adopted.

Mr. Wirth: All right, then. What can the government do, specifically, to improve the situation with reference to utilizing the maximum potential resources of the nation?

Mr. Lerner: We can make an inventory of exactly what resources we have—labor, industrial, managerial, professional, and everything else.

Mr. Wirth: We'll probably come to that pretty soon. We have been hearing a lot of preaching but we haven't heard very much in the way of actual teaching of how to do it.

Mr. Lerner: And more than teaching (even though we are teachers), I would like to see the government and other leaders move from exhortation to organization. What we want is to know how to be organized and to be used within that framework.

Mr. Finnegan: But I don't think all the exhortation should come from the government. I think each one of us has his part in that exhortation. The average man says, "What am I to do?" And then he waits for orders from Washington. I think there are a lot of things that each individual can exhort and lead himself into doing.

Mr. Wirth: Frequently people tell me they are being led up to a high mountain toward a great vision of what they *ought* to do and what they *can* do—and then they are let down because their resources aren't used.

In other words, I feel that in peacetime the government may have the obligation of listening to the voice of the people, but in wartime the government must *act*, and *act speedily*.

Mr. Lerner: Why can't we put it this way (and I don't think these things exclude each other)? We need two things. We need more effective organization and clearer and more decisive orders from the government. But we also need a greater degree of effort—

"grass roots" effort—on the part of the community. Both of those are perfectly compatible with each other.

Mr. Wirth: I heard the other day of a community in Michigan where, because of the rubber shortage, they have organized their town so only one man out of five takes his car out every day.

Mr. Finnegan: I heard of a community the other day, surrounding a big camp, where the girls have been organized by their parents to write to the soldiers when they leave that camp, for this purpose: They have organized an antiespionage, a counterespionage system, and are warning these boys in letters: "Do not write me or any other girl what your troop movements are or what your convoy movements are."

Mr. Lerner: That sounds not only useful but also dramatic. Nevertheless, I would say that even these "grass roots" efforts may die of inanition unless they have a framework of government organization within which to grow.

Mr. Finnegan: In other words, you agree with Harding that every individual should be given an assignment by government. Is that it?

Mr. Lerner: I'm rather surprised that Harding was able to say that. I don't think we've done him enough justice.

Mr. Wirth: The real problem, as I see it, is to determine what that assignment shall be, because obviously there are a great many resources we don't know exist. In order to utilize those resources, we must have a much more effective and comprehensive organization than we now have.

Mr. Lerner: In that connection, may I say that what we need is managerial ability throughout our system, and one of the things that we'd better understand is that no group has a monopoly on that managerial ability.

Mr. Wirth: That's right. I feel we must look for that ability wherever we can find it.

Mr. Lerner: You may find it both in industry and in labor.

Mr. Finnegan: Not only that, but we must also feel that no group has a complete understanding of what Americanism is.

Mr. Lerner: That's right. We may find both this understanding and these abilities in industry; and we may also find them in labor. And may I say, at the risk of seeming to say too much for government, that during the past ten years we have developed really a very good administrative service on which we can draw for managerial ability.

Mr. Wirth: What about the people? We've said what the government should do. What can the people do? Finnegan, you said a while ago the people were ahead of the government.

Mr. Finnegan: I think the people are ahead of the government. I don't know whether we are using "people" in the right way . . . .

Mr. Wirth: I mean our listeners, you and I, and my family and yours, and our neighbors and friends all over the country.

Mr. Lerner: First of all, they'd better develop the good American habit of self-reliance and not rely too much on Washington, or even on their local authorities, and at the same time look to see where they can fit into the government effort.

Mr. Finnegan: I think that each person that is listening ought to feel, first, that he is an American, not a farmer; not a laborer; not a skilled workmen; not an industrialist; not a capitalist; not a banker; not an editor; not a university professor. We are all together as Americans in this situation, and group interests must be made secondary.

Mr. Lerner: And, as Americans, we should exercise our God-

given right to criticize and to demand that certain things be done. As to how they will be done, that must be left to our government; but the demand of what is to be done, is the job of the people.

MR. FINNEGAN: Let's take a word from MacArthur, who said the other day that he thought everybody should criticize—but, before they criticize, they should find out what the facts are. And he said, "If you find the facts, you probably will have less criticism."

MR. WIRTH: But it's one of the responsibilities of government to tell people where they might best fit in, and we haven't as yet even begun to tackle that task, except in civilian defense.

MR. LERNER: We talk as if our government was a single, unitary thing. Of course it isn't. The administration is one thing; Congress is a very different thing. Congress has not been pulling along with the administration as a team should, and I think one of the things that people can do is to look at the records of their Congressmen . . . .

MR. WIRTH: And of their Senators!

MR. LERNER: . . . . and remember those records when they come to vote in the coming congressional elections.

MR. WIRTH: The daily tasks that we tell people ought to be done—that they should keep a better house; that they should keep their yard clean; that they shouldn't waste; that they should participate in their civil defense activities, and so forth—don't sound very dramatic. They have to be made dramatic, and people can be shown how each fits into the total war effort.

MR. LERNER: Yes, and beyond drama there is usefulness. People must have a sense that they are really being used. And beyond usefulness, there is something else—there is action.

I often think that there are three things that all of us must do: *understand*, *believe*, and *act*—and action is important.

You remember what William James once said: After you've listened to a great symphony and got yourself worked up to an emotional pitch, you'd better do something—do anything; even if it's being kind to your grandmother, go ahead and do it.

Mr. Wirth: Let me read a little excerpt from the flyleaf of the diary of an Iowa boy who was killed at Chateau-Thierry during the last war. He wrote: "America must win this war. Therefore, I will work; I will save; I will sacrifice; I will endure; I will fight cheerfully, and do my utmost, as if the issue of the whole struggle depended on me alone."

Mr. Finnegan: I think that's true; and what do we mean by "me alone"? We mean each one of us in our own job. I think each one of us can do our own job until Uncle Sam gives us something else to do.

Mr. Lerner: But do that job with the proper understanding of just where we stand in this country. I think of morale, to use that word, as a quality of sober realism and contained courage; and it means, for example, in the past few months we have moved from the plane of underestimating the enemy and overestimating ourselves to a different plane. We now overestimate the strength of the enemy and we underestimate our own strength.

Actually, the Japs are not supermen. MacArthur has fought them to a standstill; the Chinese have fought them to a standstill. The American Volunteer Flying Corps has beaten them. The Germans are not supermen. The Russians have outmaneuvered them and outfought them. And we'd better understand what our strength is and what our weaknesses are—but mainly what our strength is—and determine to organize that strength.

Mr. Wirth: This problem of organization of our strength seems to me to be the most crucial issue, because we must get the govern-

ment to see that the people are ahead of it and not just lagging behind it. So far the issues that have been solved with reference to these controversies have been solved on a basis of appeasing various interest groups.

MR. LERNER: That's right, and there tends to be the jitters both in the government and among some groups. I would say that the jitters are a sort of halfway house between complacency and panic. We once had complacency. We may get panic unless we can do away with this sense of jitteriness.

MR. FINNEGAN: I don't like your word "jitters." I don't believe we are in a jittery stage. We are more in the stage of milling around.

MR. LERNER: Jitters are developing as we mill around. The point is that people must have some sense of having a stake in the future and of that stake being a certain one; or at least one we can fight for. And what the American people want is not a certain future. What they want is a feeling that if they fight, and they can fight, they can win the future.

MR. WIRTH: I think we're all agreed that the United States, at the present time, remains largely immobilized because we have allowed certain vested interests, certain timidities, and certain prejudices to stand in our way.

Second, I think we can say that we cannot win this war with a conditional will to victory.

MR. LERNER: Right!

MR. FINNEGAN: It must be *all-out.*

MR. WIRTH: Exactly! And, third, in estimating America's temper, we must realize sooner or later (and perhaps sooner) that the best way to improve the full mobilization of our resources—human and material—is to resort to not only the propaganda of truth but

the propaganda of the deed, of action. We must put the right men into the right places. We must educate one another to go to war together so that we will know how the issues affect all of us, collectively. We must open the floodgates of the idle efforts that lie buried in our nation. We can do it with more efficient and aggressive organization of government; with equality of opportunity; and with equal distribution of sacrifices.

In the words of the Declaration of Independence: "To this Cause we must pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

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ALLPORT, GORDON W., "Liabilities and Assets in Civilian Morale," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July, 1941. *An analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the American character in fighting the war.*

"Fitness for Freedom," *Survey Graphic*, March, 1942. *A special issue devoted to the civilian war effort.*

"Forty-Hour Week in Wartime: Opposition from Most Editors," *United States News*, March 27, 1942. *Summary of the attitude of the press toward the forty-hour week.*

GRAFTON, SAMUEL, "Sitzkrieg," *New Republic*, March 9, 1942. *Argues that the important division of American opinion is and will be between those offensively and defensively minded.*

"Jitters and Morale," *New Republic*, March 23, 1942. *An analysis of the present feeling of the American people in regard to the war.*

LERNER, MAX, *Ideas for the Ice Age.* Viking Press, 1941. *A statement of important currents in American thought.*

———, "Margin of Waste," *New Republic*, January 26, 1942. *Argues against the attitude that America inevitably will triumph because of superiority in resources.*

MITCHELL, DONALD W., "How Strong Is Our Home Front?" *Nation*, March 14, 1942. *Analysis of divisions in American opinion.*

RESTON, JAMES B., "Are We Awake?" *Reader's Digest*, April, 1942. *Argues that Washington leadership has five illusions that hinder a winning of the war.*

SCHLESINGER, A. M., "Do We Have National Unity?" *New Republic*, February 2, 1942. *Comparison of the degree of national unity in the present war and in the Civil War and in World War I.*

"Unity Bandwagon," *New Republic*, December 22, 1941. *Distinguishes between apparent unity and actual unity.*

WAYMACK, W. W., "An Iowan Interprets America to Freedom Loving People Abroad," *Free World*, December, 1941. *A statement of what the American people have come to recognize as essential to rebuilding the world on a pattern of freedom.*

WILLKIE, WENDELL L., "Let Us Do More Proposing than Opposing," *Vital Speeches*, March 1, 1942. *Argues for a positive attitude toward government.*

WIRTH, LOUIS, "Morale and Minority Groups," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1941. *Factual picture of the morale importance of minority groups.*

OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. To what causes do the speakers attribute the lack of organization of the American people? Page 3.
2. What are the "morale bottlenecks" of the American people? Pages 4–5.
3. What do the speakers believe to be one of the important divisions of opinion among the American people? Page 7.
4. What per cent of the press, according to Mr. Lerner, objected to the anti-labor drive? Page 7.
5. What important sacrifice has labor made voluntarily? Page 8.
6. What is the average number of hours per week for the average worker in crucial defense industries? Page 8.
7. What was the government policy toward labor in regard to hours in World War I? Page 8.
8. In what manner has England achieved the greatest degree of co-operation from labor? Page 10.
9. What can the government do to utilize the maximum potential resources of the people? Page 17.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on pages 23–24.

*

1. Do you believe that America is only partially mobilized? Do you think the American people are complacent? Or has there been lack of imagination and daring in our leadership?
2. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the American national character in doing the job of winning the war? Some critics say this war is really a revolution. If it is, what American ideas and ideals can serve as weapons to win it?
3. How much of the "business-as-usual," "isolationist," or "defensive" attitude do you see in your community? Do you know people who have a "conditional will to victory"?
4. What are some of the relevant facts necessary to decide whether labor is doing its share? Should the role of labor be likened to that of the soldier? Would you favor having the government take over every civilian activity and give everyone a soldier's pay?
5. Do you believe that the American people regard any strong use of governmental power as a "Nazi" practice? How compatible are democracy and centralized power? Discuss.
6. Would you say that the political leadership in Washington has been timid about exercising power to push the production effort? Is there too much dependence upon Washington for leadership? What do you think the government should do to utilize the maximum potential resources of the nation? What can *you* do to aid the war effort?

The Listeners' Round Table . . . .

Letters to the ROUND TABLE *frequently contain interesting and illuminating side lights on the subject matter discussed on the air. These comments are from letters received following the broadcast-discussion, "Women, Work, and the War," March 22, 1942.*

*

The Last Time

The University of Chicago ROUND TABLE Sunday made me think of the last war. I was in England at that time, when it became necessary for women to take over the men's jobs. I can't remember any talk of women being specially trained for that work. They asked us to give up our regular work and help our country. I was a dressmaker, and I applied at the Gnome and LeRone Airplane Engine Company and was told to report the next day for work. I was not asked what I could do, or what I had been doing, I was just told to go to work, and in a very few days I was able to do the same work others were doing who had been there a long time. In less time than it takes to talk about and train people over here, I was keeping up with and doing the work as well as most of the workers in that shop (men and women).

You may not be interested in all this, but I do feel a lot of time is being wasted here. There are thousands of men and women who could be on the job right now if there was not so much red tape.

Mrs. F. W., Rhode Island

Up 50 Per Cent

I was very much interested in your program "Women, Work, and the War." I am a woman defense worker: a mechanic at Boeing Aircraft in Seattle. Since women have practically taken over one of our departments, production has been speeded up 50 per cent over what it was when the men had that department. I feel that record speaks well for women and that we are certainly entitled to an equal rate of pay such as the men are getting for an equal amount of work and especially so in view of the fact that we are doing more.

E. J., Washington

*

Need

Can any expert economist state definitely what result is expected when the request is broadcast that housewives conserve—buy only what they absolutely need and nothing which can be done without?

Even our Army and Navy officers "need" expensive uniforms. Why? Morale, I suppose, but it should not make a soldier or sailor fight better to have his superior officer wearing finer clothes than he, should it? Does it, Colonel? Do you agree, Miss Miller?

You who are fortunate enough to be selected to advise the public expect us to accept too much without explanation.

I have been told that we should use every nook and corner, attic or basement, to house defense workers in defense areas. I am willing to do that and much more, but, first, *suppose we turn over some of our highly prized 22-room, 4-bath residences into defense "hotels."*

Let us begin where there is the most to be shared. What do you say?

Mrs. C. E. H., Missouri

*

Over Forty-five

Today you discussed "Women, Work, and the War." You and the thousands of other agencies, governmental and otherwise, who urge women for war work and assume that only from the ranks of women can enough workers be drawn for the emergency, arouse my ire.

There must be several million active men who are beyond the age of forty-five who are capable of learning any darn thing needed for war effort.

The gist of what I am driving at is this: Why not a drive to put these older men into war industries instead of trying to put women into men's work? I am sure that any man of forty-five is as strong or more so than a woman of any age, and I know that their experience will make them better workers.

J. E. B., Missouri

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1942

199. *Morale: Ours and Theirs*
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204. *Labor Policies in Wartime*
205. *What Should the Churches Do in War?*
206. *What Should We Teach Our Youth Now?*
207. *Propaganda: Good and Bad*
208. *Civilian Defense*
209. *Taxes* vs. *Axis*
210. *Women, Work, and the War.* March 22

All Round Table Transcripts Contain Added Factual Material in the Form of Graphs, Maps, Pictographs, Footnotes, Bibliographies, Etc.

What Do You Know about the Enemy?

You should read: *Japan: Setting Sun?* (*178*) and *Showdown with Japan?* (*189*). These discussions, broadcast before America was attacked by Japan, contain valuable information about the economic strength, political structure, and motives of our enemy.

INDIA

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A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

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APRIL 5, 1942

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GEORGE BOBRINSKOY, Department of Linguistics, University of Chicago

WALTER CLARK, Department of Indic Philology, Harvard University

QUINCY WRIGHT, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago

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BATES, RALPH, "Freedom for India," *New Republic,* March 2, 1942.

BUCK, PEARL, "The Asiatic Problem," *Vital Speeches,* March 1, 1942.

CHETTY, SIR SHANMUKHAM, "India's Fighting Strength," *Foreign Affairs,* April, 1942.

"How Much Longer?" *Time,* March 16, 1942.

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